The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections 104
is the acknowledged leader of the section; however the national government of Ecuador has inscribed the chief of the Punta Venado section as governor of all the Cayapa. The Indians of the other three groups say that while this governor is indeed superior to the others, he can in no way interfere in their internal affairs nor give orders to them. This is quite different from the situation reported by Barrett where in 1909 the chief of Punta Venado was in effective control of all of the other groups, allowing their chiefs to handle only minor matters (Barrett: personal communication). Office is inherited in the patrilineal line.

The /kása ún^{y}i/ may become the chief upon the death of the /ún^{y}i/ provided the oldest son of the /ún^{y}i/ is not old enough, or perhaps does not want the job. In these instances the brothers of the late governor may be considered. All of the offices mentioned pass within the male line as a rule, but they may pass out of the line if no one wants the job or if no one within the line is capable of handling it. Regardless of title, the duties of the officials are the same: they are expected to maintain order at the various festive occasions, and they are expected to adjudicate disputes among the Cayapa.

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announced that he knew more of the law than did Gabriel. The Cayapa plainly do not know how to deal with Pindalenas. Some Cayapa say that he has absolutely no right to interfere in the legal disputes. Similarly, Gabriel points out that the Negro is merely his employee and nothing more, but a few Cayapa think that perhaps he can take part in the adjudicating of disputes. They are not very certain, but if Pindaleñas acts as if he can, then perhaps he can. On occasion he has asked Cayapa women to dance with him at the fiesta in the Cayapa manner, but he has always been refused. No other Negro has ever attempted to dance with a Cayapa woman. In the disputes witnessed by the writer at which Pindaleñas was present, he seemed to restrict himself to echoing the judgments reached by the Cayapa officials.

Such governmental activities as exist for the Cayapa will be amply illustrated in terms of their law. In point of fact, Cayapa law can be said to be the major part of Cayapa government. Political behavior for the Cayapa is intimately related to governmental instability which is largely the result of interregnum

uncertainties. These uncertainties are carried over into the new period of chieftainship wherein there is a great difference between the people's perception of authority and their expectation of authority. Gabriel is not seen as a strong chief but, rather, as a man who drinks excessively and as a result, is unable to function as a chief should. At this point political behavior took two forms among the Cayapa. On one level, individuals were seen expressing dissatisfaction with Gabriel as the newly installed /únʸi/ and threatening to go to Quito, the national capitol, to have him replaced. The youngest son of the late /únʸi/ was voicing complaints that by rights he should have been the /únʸi/ because he speaks excellent Spanish in marked contrast to Gabriel. Most of the complaints seemed to emanate from the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas, more especially from the region of Pichiyaco, the home of the late /únʸi/. Complaints were voiced that Gabriel could not speak good Spanish, that he could not perform his duties, that he could not settle disputes, that he was /vinrúku/, "a drunkard." As the time drew near for the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado, many people

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began saying that they would attend the fiesta at one of the other tribal sections rather than attend one headed by an incompetent drunkard. Others said that if they attended, they would not ask Gabriel to settle their disputes; rather than this, they said, they would go to the national authorities. Gabriel was clearly not very secure in his position. The behavior of the people in these instances was political because there was a shifting of support from one authority to a contender. Furthermore, the shift of support was ideologically motivated in terms of values concerning the nature of the chieftainship (of Easton 1958; Siverts 1960). Gabriel's reaction to this was to drink more. Often when I would be talking to one or more Indians, Gabriel would appear on the scene, quite drunk, and begin to electioneer in a loud voice. He would tell the Indian(s) that he was responsible for my being there and that they would all benefit by my knowledge of hypodermics and penicillin. Whenever I saw Gabriel, he was obviously drunk; these observations extended over many months.

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The personal crisis for Gabriel seems to have

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been met during the Christmas fiesta. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /ũnʸi/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other fiesteros including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /ũnʸi/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /kavítu/ "complaints," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /ũnʸi/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a brujo from Sapallo Grande, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

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As the fiesta were on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

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behavior began to develop. Individuals, all very drunk, and occasionally two or three holding each other up, would stand in front of Gabriel and lecture him on his drunkenness. This was not the way an /ũnʸi/ should act, they would say; he must be sober; he must change his ways, or the people would not listen to him. From time to time his wife would place herself before his supine form which was sprawled occasionally on the floor, but most often in his hammock. She would loudly and clearly, in front of the assembled crowd, harangue him in the same vein, telling him to sober up and get out and behave as an /ũnʸi/ should. Scenes like these were repeated throughout the year at various small parties and again at Punta Venado during the next Easter season. The attendance during Easter was markedly less than at the previous Christmas gathering. Political resistance had not died down. The situation described above has all of the elements of a comedy [drunks moralising to a drunkard], but Gabriel was an element of poignant tragedy within the comedy. The previous year he had not been a drunkard, but that year he was not the /ũnʸi/.

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After assuming office he merely continued his usual drinking behavior which apparently was the culturally normal pattern. A normally intoxicated Cayapa cannot settle disputes adequately nor can he maintain law and order effectively. An important point also is that the sober Cayapa feels absolutely no guilt or shame for his behavior while drunk. His work routine has not been disrupted, his family is not neglected, no one points a scornful finger at him. For the Gabriel, the situation was quite different. The instant he became the /kuʔi/ he was expected to change a lifetime of habit formation. Political behavior involving the shift of support from one authority to another entered a phase of psychological warfare. A new authority was to be created and the old one destroyed psychologically. The new authority was to be created in the image of what the people felt an /kuʔi/ should be like. The lack of congruence between the people's expectation of authority and their actual perception of authority created a situation of intense ambiguity wherein Gabriel was being culturally defined as an alcoholic. The ambiguous nature of his position,

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the presence of very heavy, culturally-approved drinking, and the constant moralizing and expressions of political disaffection brought Gabriel to the inexorable cycle that began to isolate him as the only apparent alcoholic in a society of heavy drinkers. It may be that as Gabriel <u>begins</u> to succumb to addictive alcoholism, the individual pressures exerted politically will begin to mold his personality in a new direction; as the gap between expected and observed authority progressively narrows, political behavior will progressively decrease, and the Cayapa governmental system will approach a measure of stability.

Not only was Gabriel's authority on probation within the <u>Punta Venado</u> group but it was completely rejected by the people of the other tribal sections. Gabriel felt that as the senior /ũn^{y}i/ he should be in charge of all Cayapa affairs. Barrett reported that during his stay, Gabriel's father was in effective control of all of the Cayapa sections, leaving to the other chiefs only minor matters (Barrett 1960: personal communication).

Gabriel attempted to assert some measure of

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personal direction during a situation of crisis and was soundly rebuffed on all sides. During 1959-60 rumors were constantly in the air in Ecuador that the end of the world was going to take place soon. These rumors had reached the Cayapa and were vouched for by one of the priests at the town of Limones. This priest had been forecasting such an event for some time. According to Gabriel, Jesus carries the world in his arms and when the sins of the people pile up, the world gets heavier and heavier until at last the burden becomes insupportable, and Jesus lets the world fall. That, said Gabriel, will happen very soon unless the Cayapa can appease the wrath of God by holding a special fiesta on the tenth of August, a national holiday. Gabriel was so concerned that he sent a message to the chiefs of the other sections, inviting them to a meeting at his home to discuss the impending disaster and the means by which to avert it. He wanted each group to stage a fiesta at its own ceremonial center at the same time "to give added strength." To make doubly sure, he wanted four young children to be married "as they did in the

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old days." Being young they would, of course, be without sin, and Jesus would find the sight touching and forgive the world. Gabriel also let it be known that any of the Punta Verde group who did not attend would be fined by a special commission composed of two Indians and two Negroes. The Negroes would be needed to speak harshly to the stay-at-homes because the Indians have too much shame to speak with the needed firmness. The chiefs of the other sections never came to the proposed meeting. Probably sensing his lack of control over the other groups as well as within his own group [several people had voiced opposition to going so far to Punta Verde], he about-faced and stated that a celebration would be held at his house, to be followed in a week by another to be held at the Cisneros house in Boraros. According to informants, this would serve adequately because the statues of the saints are in Gabriel's house and would be brought to Boraros when needed.

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It is clear that at this time Gabriel had no control over the other sections and very little over his own. Resistance to him was on an individual basis

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and never by way of organized groups. There were no political groups, just individuals who occasionally voiced dissatisfaction.

John Embree in his comparison between Thai and Japanese social systems wrote in terms of class and loose structures:

> Loosely integrated here signifying a culture in which considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned (Embree 1950:192) . . . Where social structure is "close"--that is, where the behavior of the people conforms closely to the formal social patterns of human relations . . . it is difficult for an individual to deviate, and reciprocal rights and duties are clearly marked and carried out (Embree 1950:185).

Cayapa social organization is, in these terms, loosely integrated, and Cayapa behavior is marked by individuality but not by individualism. That is, there is no ethic of individualism, rugged or otherwise, held as an ideal, but rather the sociological concomitants of a bi-laterally structured kinship system, lacking corporate kin groupings, coupled with the lack of permanent action groups of any kind, usually precludes social involvements on other than an individual basis. A possible exception to this may be

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found in the household consisting of several related nuclear families, but even here, the group is contingent upon circumstances, variable in personnel and unstable in duration. Members of the household are in constant movement, tending their far flung farm plots, visiting kinfolk, traveling to the cities, and visiting curers.

The lack of corporate involvements for the Cayapa effectively restricts political behavior to periods of turbulence and uncertainty such as occurred after the death of the late /Con³i/, Arcilio Pianchichi, and the installation of his nephew, Gabriel Ahapa, as the new governor. It may be, that whenever the office passes out of the direct line from father to son, political disturbances develop which may be exacerbated by personality factors. This seems to have been the case with Gabriel whose involvement in political events will be discussed shortly.

In terms of being a loosely structured society, the Cayapa differ from the Thai as discussed by Embree in an important manner:

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> In Siamese society it is relatively easy to achieve a fait acompli by doing something not approved by other members of the group. But in so doing one does not necessarily achieve the acceptance of the others. The "accomplished fact" does not accomplish much (Embree 1950: 185).

It is precisely at this point that the Cayapa offer a dramatic contrast. The strong-minded deviant in Cayapa society can, by his determination, make his accomplished fact a model for emulation and ultimate acceptance by the members of his society. Cayapa society is structurally unable, in the normal course of events, to permit the development of concerted and protracted pressure on an individual deviant. The only approach to this occurred when Gabriel assumed his position as /ún^{y}i/. Gabriel was not a man who commanded respect from either the Negroes or the Indians. He did not speak Spanish well, he drank to excess and was unable to perform his duties, he was not well versed in the law, and he was a poor man. For the Cayapa, the /ún^{y}i/ should be a man of infinite wisdom, who is well spoken both in Cayapa and in Spanish, a man who can stand up to the Negroes for the Cayapa,

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a man who can govern justly with a minimum of friction. People may be born in this mold and others may change aspects of their personality and perceptions through the performance of required role behavior in new status positions. This latter situation is being structured by the Cayapa in terms of a unique kind of political behavior.

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